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British aviation. The promoters, I notice, have had their fling at the government, so that it is not altogether non-political; indeed, I notice it is always so. No government spends enough to satisfy the jingo appetite, which is always "asking for more."

"The chief drawback to British aviation," says the League, "has been the lack of a strong aeronautical manufacturing industry"—the fault of the government, which has not furnished custom enough, as avowed by others. "Manufacturers," it says, "have been almost starved out of existence. But for the sporting instincts of many of them there would be little flying in this country at the present time," and so forth. It is to be noted also that the League proposes to dispense this fund itself. Judging from recent press notices, however, the British government has evidently proved itself to be a dirigible machine. But it is not alone. It cannot help itself. All governments have committed themselves to that false philosophy of life which considers war to be inevitable, and only to be warded off by constant preparation for it, and that therefore the "whole duty of man"—of nations, at any rate—"is to be ready and alert to slaughter each other when opportunity arises or occasion demands." This is the supreme exigency and the military organization presses into its service every available thing—the resources of life, the attainments of science and art, the achievements of ingenuity and industry—everything has to become subservient, and the more deadly and destructive their character (the more effective they would say), the more welcome, and the more indispensable they are. So the new science of aviation becomes military and mischievous, and that which might ultimately be a source of pleasure, or of profit, is already a menace and a terror.

To what end is it all! Those were pregnant words spoken on June 27 by M. Adolph Girod in the French Chamber of Deputies, during the debate on the future of military aviation (as recorded in "The Peace Movement" of July):

"Our superiority in everything concerning aviation," said M. Girod, "is incontestable, and it is a pledge and a guarantee of that peace which is so greatly desired by us all. The Republican Committee of Trade and Industry might well say, Now, gentlemen, as regards that aerial vessel for which we are subscribing in order to present it to the State, we ask nothing better than that it should be called 'Peace.' In choosing this name for it, however, we wish to express alike our sorrow and our hope—sorrow because it seems to us regrettable, and even grievous, that the state of Europe should be such that for the last forty years the finest discoveries of science have been considered first from the point of view of how far they could be utilized for war purposes. There is no need to insist on the paradox of applying the creations of human genius and the accumulated results of human labor to the destruction of humanity. Why must we be condemned to witness the birth of so many wonderful inventions without being free to apply them to the furtherance of peace and of the arts of peace? It is a misfortune of the age that this deplorable misapplication of power and prosperity, this departure from common sense, should still continue. France, at all events, can look on at this painful state of affairs with a perfectly easy conscience, for she is

merely enduring the weight of circumstances for which she is nowise responsible. If it depended on her alone, there would be no such profoundly illogical thing as the conquest of the air, that is, of an element which can be neither appropriated, nor have boundaries nor frontiers set to it, turned into a form of military conquest, or at any rate of military defense. France, as is natural, would only be too glad to see these powerful birds of the air one day bearing to the world the olive branch of peace, in token of the reconciliation of mankind."

Alas! all the others make the same avowals and express the same sentiments. But the military progress goes on.

THE PRESSING ACTUALITY.

The alternative is simply unthinkable. We have not yet come to it. The history of war in the past is horrible and inhuman enough. What aerial warfare will mean—what the ultimate results of aeroplane invasion will involve—all that is beyond our imagination, for it is at present outside our experience. The invaded Arabs of Tripoli might tell us, and even they only to a very limited extent. We must keep to actualities. The first and most pressing of these is that the mad race of aerial armaments has already begun; the wasteful, profitless game—and yet to some evidently most profitable, for is it not primarily, as we have already seen, a question of business—the game of "Follow my leader" is in full swing.

Here, too, in this new art of aviation, the vicious maxim has been adopted that each must do just what the others are doing. The assumption invariably is, that the enemy—real or potential—can be checkmated only in the sphere, and along the lines, and in the temper and spirit of its own action, as, to take an extreme case, when "civilized" soldiers invade an uncivilized or savage people; or as when a Christian country builds dreadnoughts or airships because another Christian country is doing it.

The consequence is, that there is no break in the blackness of the international sky because there is no real progress in the art of diplomacy, and if the new doctrine, which rules out all idealism in international affairs, be adopted to any extent, there never will be any, even though history, philosophy and experience are all clamorous for something better, and war is admitted to be an anachronism and "the most futile and ferocious of human follies."

(To be continued.)

International Congress of Chambers of Commerce.

Its Impressive Declarations for International Peace.

The Fifth International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, which met in Boston September 24-26, 1912, was the most important commercial gathering ever held, more than five hundred foreign delegates and three hundred American delegates being present, representing together the most important commercial organizations of practically every civilized nation in the world. It was a great peace congress and a wonderful witness to the profound and pervasive conviction of the world's commercial leaders that the imperative interests of trade

and industry today demand decisive action for the supplanting of the present system of war and monstrous armaments by international courts and the judicial settlement of disputes between nations as between men. It took no other action which aroused such deep interest or such great enthusiasm as its endorsement unanimously of the effort to establish the International Court of Arbitral Justice and the united endeavor of the nations to prevent the atrocities of war. The resolution making this declaration of the sentiment of the Congress was offered by the president of the Congress himself, M. Canon-Legrand, at the close of the last session of the Congress.

"The European delegates to this Congress," he said, "are all desirous of telling their American colleagues emphatically that we with you are partisans of the admirable system of arbitration, and that we like you are desirous of seeing the atrocities of war reappear no more on the surface of the globe. It is in this order of ideas that I propose, in my personal capacity and speaking in the name of many foreign delegates—and if, gentlemen, my prayer can have an effect on them, I will ask all the foreign delegates, whoever they may be—to give proof of gratitude to the numerous Americans in this beautiful country in which we are at this moment, in voting with unanimity the resolution which I am going to present you. It is this: 'The Congress affirms its desire to see established as soon as possible international official conferences which will insure between nations the existence of arbitral courts established in the broadest sense, and of a nature to insure an equitable solution of all international disputes, whether between citizens of different States or between States; and the Congress declares adherence to the principle of a combination of nations, where and when it may be possible, to endeavor to prevent the atrocities of war.'"

The resolution was supported in earnest speeches by Sir John E. Bingham, former member of the British Parliament, representing the London Chamber of Commerce, and several other members of the Congress, and the scene of its adoption was the most stirring and impressive scene of the Congress. "With loud shouts of approval from all sides," says the report in the *Boston Herald*, "the 800 delegates to the Fifth International Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the world voted in favor of the establishment of an international court of arbitration for the purpose of adjudicating all differences between nations and preventing war in the future. When the resolution presented by M. Canon-Legrand, the president of the Congress, was unanimously carried, there was a tremendous demonstration by the delegates. They stood up on their chairs and shouted themselves hoarse. 'Hurrahs' and 'Vives' echoed through the hall."

At the great banquet in the evening following this memorable demonstration, President Taft, amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheering, closed his eloquent address with the following words:

"I wish only to speak of another subject, not the influence upon this country by the coming of these delegates and these chambers of commerce, but the influence upon the world of their coming here to meet us and our meeting them. You come here for trade—to promote trade—and trade is peace. And if trade had no other good thing connected with it, the motive, the selfish

motive in love of trade that keeps off war in order that trade may continue, is a sufficient thing to keep up trade for. I am not going to bore you with a reference to what can be done toward peace, for I have talked all over the country on that subject till those of my audience who are American citizens are tired of it ('No, no'); but I believe that we must have some solution of the problem that arises and some escape in the future from the burden that is imposed by this increasing armament of nations. And you will never have the solution until you have furnished some means of certainly and honorably settling every international controversy, whether of honor or vital interest, by a court upon which all nations may rely. And if, as I believe, meetings like this stimulate the desire and the determination to reach some such result, I hope they may continue year after year until the dawn of permanent peace shall be with us."

Sweden's Attitude Toward Russia.

By Professor Torild W. Arnoldson.

ANTI-RUSSIAN AGITATION IN SWEDEN, HEADED BY DR. SVEN HEDIN AND PROF. PONTUS FAHLBECK, IS CHECKED BY THE SANE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH ARRANGES FOR A FRIENDLY MEETING BETWEEN THE KING AND THE CZAR.—THE KING RECEIVES THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SWEDISH PEACE SOCIETY IN PRIVATE AUDIENCE.

The advocates of militarism in Sweden have recently made a tremendous effort to arouse the people against Russia. According to these martial patriots, the latter country is constantly plotting the conquest of the Scandinavian peninsula. Therefore, when the new radical parliament refused to add another ironclad to the Swedish navy a popular subscription was launched, and the money thus collected offered to the government as a direct gift of the people. The agitation was carried into the humblest classes of society. Even the widow's mite was accepted—the saving of one cup of coffee per day—and an old Laplander is said to have killed one of his reindeer and offered its hide as his contribution to the battleship fund.

This anti-Russian campaign was championed by Prof. Pontus Fahlbeck, who openly advocated a political alliance with Germany against England and Russia, and Dr. Sven Hedin, the famous explorer of inner Asia, who in his pamphlet, "A Word of Warning," so viciously attacked the eastern "Barbarian" that his generous host and patron, the Russian Emperor, was constrained to exclude him from the Russian Geographical Society, of which he had been an honored member. The pamphlet proved so much the more dangerous to the friendly relations between Russia and Sweden, as it was speedily translated into German under the title "Ein Warnungsruf," and published by the noted Brockhaus firm in Leipzig, accompanied by this sensational poster: "Die Russische Gefahr. In Schweden ueber eine Million Exemplare verkauft! 50 Pf."

In his latest counter-pamphlet "Krigsfaran" (The War Danger), Mr. K. P. Arnoldson, the noted Swedish peace worker, remarks that the Russian Minister at Stockholm must have been a man of extraordinary patience, especially if he remembered how in past wars